CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

Definitive Treaty,

SIGNED AT

AIX LA CHAPELLE,

October $\frac{7}{18}$th, 1748.

IN WHICH

The Advantages ſtipulated in the Articles of the ſaid Treaty with reſpect to the preſent State of Things, and their Influence with regard to the future Poſture of Affairs in *Europe*, are modeſtly but clearly demonſtrated.

Nihil eſt, quod non expuget pertinax opera, & intenta ac diligens cura. SEN. Ep. 50.

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BRITISH MUSEUM
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CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE LATE

Definitive Treaty.

AMONGST the many invaluable Bleſſings we enjoy under our happy and excellent Conſtitution, that of the Liberty of the Preſs has been always eſteemed, and with very great Juſtice, one of the moſt conſiderable. By this we are diſtinguiſhed from other Nations, where, tho' all are equally concerned in Conſequence of the right or wrong Management of publick Af-

fairs, yet a few only are truſted with the Adminiſtration, and thoſe few are at once both Parties and Judges; they conduct all Things at their Will and Pleaſure, and whatever their Fellow-Subjects may feel from their Conduct, none but themſelves are allowed the Privilege to ſpeak. No wonder that, under ſuch Circumſtances, the Government is preſumed to be ever in the Right: But methinks there is more Reaſon to wonder, that in a Country where true Liberty is found, and where every Man may ſpeak full as freely as he thinks, ſo many ſhould incline to an implicit Belief that the Government is always in the wrong. A Belief which tends no leſs to the Prejudice of thoſe who are ruled, than to the Perplexity of their Rulers, which ſerves the Purpoſes only of the worſt Part of the Community, and puts it out of the Capacity even of the beſt Men to render ſuch Services to their Country as they otherwiſe both could and would, ſince this as wiſe Men would be their Intereſt, and as honeſt Men it muſt be the Effects of their natural Inclination.

But the true Way of exerciſing this Bleſſing, and thereby ſhewing that it is ſuch, is to employ it not in the Service of the Great, or to gratify the Humour of a Mob; not to ſerve the Purpoſes of a Party, or to anſwer the

the Ends of particular Perſons; but for the common Advantage, for the Uſe to which it was deſigned, in ſupport of the Conſtitution; by enlightening and informing the People, giving them juſt Notions of the Condition they are in, of the Meaſures taken by their Superiors, and of what may be expected from ſuch Meaſures. Neither is it poſſible to deceive them long or often, if any Man ſhould be wicked enough to go about it, and ſhould proceed in that Wickedneſs with all the Art and Skill imaginable; becauſe Facts would quickly ſet them right, and by comparing his Promiſes with Events, they would be at no Loſs to diſcern whether he ſpoke Truth or not, and if not, whether it was through Miſtake or Deſign. A Man in ſuch a Caſe will labour indeed at firſt under Suſpicion, let his Intention be ever ſo upright, and his Work will be read with Prejudice, from a Suppoſition that he writes under Direction; but when Time, that diſcloſes all Things, ſhall do Juſtice both with regard to the Rectitude of his Aim, and the Sufficiency of his Lights, he will have the Satisfaction of finding, that Truth will make its Way, tho' ſlowly, and that it is poſſible to acquire Reputation, without being the Tool either of a Miniſtry or a Faction.

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An Attempt of this kind is at all times juſtifiable, but at preſent it is both ſeaſonable and requiſite. We are juſt emerged out of a War, by which we were exceſſively exhauſted, in the carrying on of which we had but little Encouragement, and towards the Expence of which we contributed beyond even our own Examples in former Times. To do this we have been forced to have Recourſe to various Methods of raiſing Money, none of which were indeed inexcuſable, and yet all of them juſtifiable only, by that dangerous Plea of Neceſſity, which may be uſed to juſtify any thing. At a Time therefore like this, if any thing can be done, ſaid, or written to conciliate the Minds of Men, and to induce them to acquieſce in the Meaſures which have been purſued for extricating them out of ſuch a War, and uniting them in their Endeavours to make the right and proper Uſe of the Peace, this will be certainly a publick Service; and he who is not ſatisfied with a Conſciouſneſs of this deſerves no Reward, and will much leſſen the Value of his Labours if he pretends to it.

We have, ſince the Preliminaries were ſigned in the Month of *April* laſt, heard Abundance of Objections raiſed, or rather Sarcaſms thrown out againſt the Terms of the Peace,

Peace, and againſt the Negotiators of it; but moſt of theſe have been equally removed from Argument and Decency, and for theſe Reaſons have been probably thought not to ſtand in need of any Anſwer: For, in the Nature of Things, Abſurdity and Abuſe anſwer themſelves, there is no Poſſibility of confuting Nonſenſe, and it is a very difficult Thing to make a Reply to Billinſgate. In ſuch Caſes, Silence is ſo far from being a Mark of Guilt, that it is the ſureſt Sign of Innocence. Bad Men are the ſooneſt angry, but a juſt Senſe of being in the right will make People eaſy, not only under the Miſfortune of being miſtaken, but under the greater Unhappineſs of being maltreated. To behave well, and to be repaid with ill Language, was of old obſerved to be the Fate of Princes, and will, perhaps, as long as the World ſtands, be the Lot of their Miniſters; and the Knowledge of this furniſhes the beſt Defence, which is, hearing without Anger, and replying without Reſentment. There is nothing eaſier than to defend a good Cauſe, becauſe there is hardly any thing that can injure it, but the Advocate's deviating into unbecoming Language. He who is ſure to ſpeak Truth, may deſpiſe Invectives, nor need he be in any great Pain about the Arts of Perſuaſion, let him aim only at being

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perſpicuous, and he will be eloquent of Courſe.

To make the Application of this Rule, as far as is within the Compaſs of my Power, I ſhall, without farther Introduction, declare that my Deſign is to diſpoſe all candid and impartial Readers to have a good Opinion of this Treaty, and to incline them to make the right Uſe of that great Bleſſing of Peace, by baniſhing all domeſtick Jealouſies and Heart-burnings, in order to unite in concerting the moſt effectual Methods for paying our Debts, leſſening our Taxes, and promoting Trade. To do this effectually, I ſhall make it my Buſineſs to ſhew, that this Peace was well-timed; by which I mean, that it was not entered upon either too ſoon or too late; that it has been conducted with great Dignity and Prudence; negotiated with all poſſible Marks of Candour and Ability, and concluded upon Terms as advantageous and as ſalutary as thoſe who were moſt ſanguine in their Expectations could expect. After this is done, I ſhall demonſtrate how little Weight there really is in what have been hitherto ſtiled popular Objections; and, laſtly, I ſhall venture to offer a few Conjectures as to the Operation of this Treaty, in reference to the future State of Things; and in handling theſe Points, I ſhall be ſo far from overſtraining

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Things, or giving falſe Colours to what might otherwiſe wear a Form not altogether pleaſing, that I ſhall make it my Buſineſs to avoid every thing that has the Appearance of Rhetorick, ſhall keep cloſe to the Matters of Fact that are within my Province, without running into any perſonal Panegyricks, as profeſſing to recommend not Men but Meaſures, and ſeeking the Favour of the Publick, not the Approbation of thoſe who are entruſted with publick Affairs. They are, without doubt, as well as other Men, intitled to Juſtice, and he who makes Uſe of the Liberty of the Preſs to defend their Meaſures, does them Juſtice, but no Favour, and therefore has no Merit to plead with them. This may be ſuſpected at the Entrance of the Work; but, I doubt not, before I come to the Cloſe of it, the Reader will be convinced of my Sincerity, and be ſatisfied that I ſpeak and mean the ſame Thing.

It is ſtipulated in the ſecond Article of the Treaty, That what is paſſed with reſpect to the War, ſhall be buried in profound and perpetual Oblivion; and therefore I will not pretend to enter at all into the Riſe and Progreſs of this Diſpute, into which, it is certain, that we did not enter from Motives of Ambition, or with a View to our private

Intereſts: That is to ſay, we did not ſeek to aggrandize ourſelves at the Expence of our Neighbours, but to do ourſelves Juſtice, and to prevent any of our Neighbours from aggrandizing themſelves at the Expence of our Allies, or by overturning that Syſtem, which the Reaſon of Things, the ſucceſſive Judgment of the wiſeſt Politicians, and the Experience of many Years had ſhewn to be fitteſt for maintaining the Independency of the ſeveral *European* Powers, and promoting their Welfare and Proſperity reſpectively. As our Intentions in this Reſpect were highly laudable, ſo our Conſtancy was very remarkable. We were not frighted from doing our Duty, either by the Appearance of diſtant Danger, or by the coming of it even to our own Doors: We were not wearied with the Expences, tho' they roſe, as I have already obſerved, higher in Proportion than in former Times, and were raiſed with Difficulty enough: Neither were we diſheartened by Diſappointments, but ſupported them with Spirit and Firmneſs, as not our Friends only, but even our Enemies, have confeſſed. It is true, that we were very far from being always unſucceſsful; ſo far from it, that our Naval Force gained us conſiderable Victories, and proved highly advantageous to us in other Reſpects; and at Land, the ever-memorable Victory at *Det-*

Dettingen, and the noble Efforts of the *Britiſh* Troops at *Fontenoy*, will do us Honour in ſucceeding Times.

It would be manifeſt Injuſtice therefore to pretend, that we were haſty or precipitate in our Thoughts of making Peace: We did not entertain them before our Enemies, much leſs did we ſeek or propoſe them upon mean Terms. On the contrary, in the Times of greateſt Danger, they were the fartheſt from our Minds; but when our Enemies were weary of exhauſting their Blood and Treaſure, and ſaw plainly that the Oppoſition given them was ſuch, as would ſooner or later defeat any Plans for extending their Power and Influence to a dangerous or deſtructive Height, they began to ſhew a Willingneſs to lay down their Arms, and to relinquiſh thoſe Conqueſts that had coſt them ſo dear, and which it was impoſſible we ſhould ſee them retain, while we had any Regard to our own Honour or Safety. This being the Caſe, (and that it was the Caſe, all *Europe* is ſenſible, and the Treaty itſelf expreſsly declares) they could have no Grounds to over-value their Condeſcenſion, or to under-value us for being willing to liſten to Overtures that were in themſelves reaſonable, and that were very far from being

embraced with that kind of Eagerneſs that might ſeem to proceed either from a conſcious Incapacity, or a total Dejection.

As our Enemies had no Cauſe to triumph, ſo we never gave our Allies the leaſt Occaſion to complain; we were always ready to concert proper Meaſures for the Maintenance of the common Cauſe, and we never failed to perform with Punctuality, what with Alacrity we had undertaken. We never attempted to chicane or wrangle, but ſhewed the utmoſt Willingneſs not only to bear our Part, but even more than our Part, whenever it was found to be neceſſary. We were never wanting in our Aſſiſtance, when it appeared to be requiſite, even in Caſes that did not fall within the Limits of our Stipulations; neither did we liſten to any Terms of Accommodation that might be forced upon them by their Diſtreſs, but with the utmoſt Chearfulneſs ſupported the War in all the different Scenes of Action, till it was evident that there was no longer any Danger of their being reduced to accept of Terms deſtructive or diſhonourable. Nay, when Peace was offered, and Negotiations entered into, we proceeded entirely in Conjunction, and at laſt broke them off, when they appeared to be unacceptable to them. Neither were theſe Negotiations revived, till ſuch

ſuch Time as the Affairs of our Allies made it abſolutely neceſſary, and till all *Europe* ſaw that we had to the full, as great a Regard for their Security as for our own.

After making theſe Reflections, it may not be amiſs to come a little nearer, and to obſerve, that notwithſtanding all the Difficulties they had to ſtruggle with, and theſe were not a few, thoſe at the Helm did not in Earneſt venture upon a Negotiation, till all the Parties in the Nation had not only declared, but I may truly ſay, had clamoured for Peace. It is not ſo long ago that we ſhould forget, neither were theſe Remonſtrances made in ſuch a Manner, that, if it was at all neceſſary, we ſhould be unable to prove this; but the Point being both recent and publick, there ſeems to be no Neceſſity of doing it; for notwithſtanding that ſome have ſince thought fit to talk in another Strain, yet all candid and impartial Judges muſt be ſufficiently ſatisfy'd, that this ariſes only from a Change of Circumſtances, and that the ſame Thing would have happened, had theſe Negotiations been till now, or indeed ever ſo long delay'd.

It muſt therefore be admitted, that a properer Time could not have been choſen, than that which was made choice of to treat, when

when our Enemies ſhewed a Diſpoſition, and profeſſed a Willingneſs to liſten to Reaſon; when our Allies were in Circumſtances that would admit of no Delay, and when the Parties in this Nation, who very ſeldom agree in their Sentiments upon any Point of publick Concern, ſeem'd not only to deſire a Peace, but upon the Point of treating it as a Thing criminal in the Miniſters, that they had declined the ſeveral Offers made them, not for a general only, but a ſeparate Peace. If at ſuch a Time, and in ſuch a Situation, they were not juſtified in taking the neceſſary Steps for putting an End to ſo burthenſome a War, and for procuring a Peace, that was ſo requiſite in the Sentiments of all, who could pretend in any Reaſon to form a Judgment upon the Point, it is not eaſy to diſcern when, or how, they could ever be juſtified. But when they had taken ſuch Reſolutions as in that State were the moſt proper, they entered upon the Execution of them with much Calmneſs and Conſideration; and as they were not haſty in beginning a Negotiation, ſo when it was begun they acted with ſuch Steadineſs and Secreſy, as to bring nothing to a Concluſion, till they were ſure of ſtipulating ſuch Terms as might effectually provide for the Points that had been held of the greateſt

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Conſequence during the Continuance of the War, and for the procuring of which it had been ſo long continued.

It ought to be no Diminution to the Weight of this Argument, that the Facts upon which it turns are far from being new, or picked up in the Anti-chambers of preſent or of paſt Miniſters. Indeed this is ſo far from being the Caſe, that their publick Notoriety makes them ſo much the fitter for my Purpoſe, who do not mean to amuſe my Readers with fine-ſpun Tales and curious Anecdotes, but to ſhew them the Truth, by Arguments that are deduced from Evidence, which is directly within their own Reach. The Fitneſs of the Time, in reference to thoſe at the Helm, remains then a Thing out of all Queſtion; and perhaps this might have been urged with great Shew of Reaſon, in Excuſe even for accepting diſadvantageous Terms; but to treat at ſuch a Time, not only without Diſadvantage, but with Credit and Safety, was no eaſy Thing, was ſcarce to be expected, and for this Reaſon only I think is hardly believed. But Matters of Fact will put this likewiſe out of Doubt, and when we have once ſhewn with what Dexterity and Addreſs the whole Negotiation was managed, we ſhall very clearly make it appear, that the Terms are ſuch as ought

ought to be approved and applauded, and as viſibly demonſtrate, they were ſettled and obtained by Men of ſound Heads and honeſt Hearts, who knew the Price that was ſet upon Peace by thoſe with whom they treated, reſolved to drive their Bargain hard, and to keep up the Market to its greateſt poſſible Height.

When the Reſolution was taken of treating, and it is very poſſible when ſome Ideas were formed of the Terms upon which a Peace might be made, our military Preparations were far from being ſuſpended, every Thing took its Courſe as if the War was to be continued with Vigour; our Squadrons ſailed for both *Indies*, our Fleet was reinforced in the *Mediterranean*, and the March of the *Ruſſians* was preſſed as a Thing of the laſt Importance, and the Meaſure upon which we moſt depended. I could mention ſome other Points of the ſame Nature, but that it would draw my Diſcourſe into too great a Length, and thereby weaken its Force and leſſen its Perſpicuity. Let it ſuffice then to ſay, that as theſe Schemes were ſenſibly laid, they had a very happy Effect. The Enemy very plainly ſaw, that we had ſtill great Reſources, and meant to depend upon them, if they ſet their Pretenſions too high. Our Allies ſaw clearly, that we did

did not mean a ſeparate or a partial Peace, a Peace to which they might be bound to aſſent, or to which they might be compelled to ſubmit; but ſuch a one as might be ſuitable to all Parties, and either repair the Loſſes of the War, or eſtabliſh ſo ſolid and ſo ſalutary a Peace, as that the Effects thereof quickly ſhould. At home the People ſaw, or might have ſeen the Propriety of this Diſpoſition, which however ſome who knew, or ought to have known better, were pleaſed to repreſent as a Mixture of martial and pacifick Reſolutions, that would not either promote the War or produce a Peace.

Upon the firſt Meetings at *Aix la Chapelle*, a Reſolution was taken of laying aſide Forms as much as poſſible, and proceeding to Buſineſs. The Method of doing this was quickly adjuſted, but ſtudiouſly concealed. The Magiſtrates and the Inhabitants went on with their Preparations, the Place of meeting was appointed, and the ſolemn Opening of the Congreſs was a Thing looked for, even among ſome quick-ſighted Politicians. In the mean time the Miniſters met and conferred, and very ſoon ſaw that each was a perfect Judge of his own Strength, and that upon the whole, the Scales were not quite ſo uneven as the

World generally imagined. The Superiority of our Naval Force was an Equivalent for the *French* Power in the *Low Countries*, the March of the *Ruſſians* balanced the Fate of *Maeſtricht*; for to have penetrated into the Heart of *Holland* might have been attended with untoward Circumſtances, and to have puſhed the allied Army on the Side of *Germany* would perhaps have determined the Meaſures of the *Germanick* Body, and muſt inevitably have haſtened the Junction of the *Ruſſians*. The Buſineſs then was not to loſe Time in Formalities, but to reduce the Terms within a moderate Compaſs, to expreſs the Senſe of them clearly, and to give them ſuch a Sanction as might prevent their being unravelled, ſuddenly and at once.

One cannot but be aware that a Matter of this Nature and of this Importance, could not be tranſacted without great Difficulties, or without much Management and Addreſs. Inſtead of being hard, it would be the eaſieſt Thing in the World to ſet this in a very ſtrong Light; to ſhew how few of the Miniſters, who were admitted to theſe Conferences, could with Reaſon be ſuppoſed to have the bringing Matters to a ſhort Iſſue, and that upon practicable Terms, at Heart. How many other Courts were looking on, and

and only waiting for ſome certain Signals to interpoſe their Memorials, and lay the Foundation of Enquiries and Diſcuſſions, that might have taken up not barely Days and Weeks, but have required even Months and Years? How many Accidents might have intervened, while the uſual Ceremonial had been regulated, the Points in the common Order diſtinctly debated, and the Inſtrument drawn up in the cuſtomary Form? I ſay, it would be very eaſy to expatiate upon theſe, and thereby ſhew, that, without ſome Expedient capable of averting theſe Delays, the favourable Opportunity of coming to a Concluſion had been loſt, ſome important and deciſive Stroke had probably given a new Face to Affairs, and perhaps another Year might have been ſpent in fighting. Things into ſuch a State of Equality as when the Conferences were opened at *Aix la Chapelle*. To ſeize this critical Moment therefore, and to give a Check to the Military Operations, was at once a moſt delicate and a moſt neceſſary Point to atchieve.

It may not be amiſs, however, if I take the Liberty of putting the Publick in Mind, that it was no Secret that there were, in certain Countries, Parties diſpoſed to make a Point of carrying on the War, notwithſtanding Peace was ſo viſibly and ſo glaringly ne-

ceſſary, and without excelling them in Vigilance, there was no diſappointing their Views. Now, in the midſt of theſe intricate Embaraſſments, the able Negotiators took their Meaſures with ſuch Spirit and Secrecy, and conducted every kind of Form that was indiſpenſably neceſſary, in ſo clear and unexceptionable a Manner, that Matters were brought to bear, and the Particulars relative to a general Pacification, were reduced to a Conſiſtency, not only before the World expected, but before they had ſo much as a bare Suſpicion of it. The Preparations were ſtill going on, the Opening of the Congreſs was from time to time poſtponed, Couriers arrived and were diſpatched about Things that ſeemed to be of no great Importance, and only a few previous Conferences were held, into which it was ſcarce ſuppoſed that the very Out-lines of Buſineſs would enter. Yet in theſe Conferences this great Affair was not only canvaſs'd, but concluded with ſo maſterly a Turn, that the ſigning of the Preliminaries was not only known, but declared by Authority, at the *Hague*, at *London*, and at *Paris*, by that time it was well whiſpered at *Aix la Chapelle*. All the Complaiſance ſhewn upon this Occaſion by the Negotiators, was allowing the Fortreſs of *Maeſtricht* to be taken, after Proviſion had been made that it ſhould

ſhould be reſtored, becauſe no fair Pretence ſhould be left to a certain great Soldier to ſay, that the Concluſion of the Pacification might have been made without throwing a Shade upon his Victories. This, and other Precautions had the deſired Effects, a Ceſſation of Hoſtilities enſued, and by taſting the firſt Fruits of Peace, the People in every Country lent their Aſſiſtance, as far as it went, to thoſe who made it their Buſineſs to promote its thorough and abſolute Eſtabliſhment.

The ſame Sagacity, Induſtry and Secrecy was abſolutely requiſite in the Proſecution of that important Negotiation, and to prevent any of the capital Articles from being brought again into Debate. I will not ſay that the bringing the Definitive Treaty to a Concluſion was as arduous and difficult, but I will make no Scruple of affirming, that it was as nice and delicate an Affair as the ſettling and ſubſcribing the Preliminaries; nor do I in the leaſt ſcruple gaining Credit with the Reader, when I put him in Mind, that there was nothing now of Surprize in the Caſe; every one's Eyes were open and attentive, every Colour of an Objection had not only been ſtarted and tried, but dreſſed in the moſt formidable Manner, and brought upon

upon the Stage with all the Advantages that Rhetorick could give it. The Miniſters, however, remained ſteady to their Point and to their Principles; they had done excellently well towards making a Peace that ought to pleaſe every body, and to make one that ſhould abſolutely pleaſe all, they were ſenſible was not within the Limits of human Capacity. They had proportioned the Gain and the Loſs of all Parties ſo happily, that none were willing to part with the former even to be rid of the latter. The Complaints made from a Variety of Quarters ſerved only to juſtify their Impartiality; and therefore, taking Care in the Interval to ſecure the Foundation they had laid from being ſhaken, by certain judicious and well-timed Conventions, they gave as much Time as was requiſite to overcome Prepoſſeſſions in ſome Quarters, and to diſpel the Prejudices that had been conceived in others, by which Means they brought this Work to its Conſummation in five Months, which, whatever is thought of it now, will appear almoſt incredible to Poſterity; and notwithſtanding the Proviſion in the ſeparate Articles, one may venture to foretel, that the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* will be conſidered as a Model in ſucceeding Times, and be thought in them what it ought to be thought in theſe,

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a Maſter-piece of Politicks, and a Negotiation, which, as it is without Example, it will be found very difficult to parallel.

After having thus explained, and ſet in its true Light, that Prudence, Penetration and Addreſs which was ſhewn, in compromiſing, in ſo ſhort a Time, and in ſpite of ſo many embarraſſing Circumſtances, Controverſies ſo complicated, that Stateſmen of inferior Parts muſt have deſpaired of ever adjuſting; we come next to conſider the Terms of the Definitive Treaty, in order to make it plain to every competent Underſtanding, that they are not huddled together, in the way of a temporary Expedient, but are ſo well contrived as to promiſe fair for affording us a ſolid and laſting Peace. If, in order to do this, we ſhould inſiſt particularly and expreſly upon each, or even upon the principal Articles of the Definitive Treaty, it would not only lead us into a great Length, which might endanger our tiring the Reader's Attention, but muſt alſo introduce ſuch a Variety of Matter, as muſt almoſt neceſſarily perplex his Judgment. We will therefore, to avoid both Inconveniencies, endeavour to take a ſhorter Way, which ſhall be at the ſame time more ſatisfactory and more convincing, and not only ſo, but will

will enable every Reader to run through and examine the Particulars of the Treaty with a perfect Comprehenſion of their Connection with each other, and a juſt Notion of that Syſtem which ariſes from the combined Force of all the various Stipulations in favour of ſo many different Powers.

The principal Object of the War upon the Continent was to defeat the Deſign of aggrandizing the Houſe of *Bourbon* in ſuch a Manner as might be dangerous to the Liberties of *Europe*, and deſtructive of that Settlement in favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which ſo many of the great Powers in *Europe* had undertaken to guaranty and defend. This End ſeems to be entirely anſwered by the Definitive Treaty, which renews, in the moſt poſitive Terms, and without the leaſt Reſtriction or Reſerve, the Guaranty of the Pragmatick Sanction, excepting only the temporary Settlement in favour of Don *Philip*, which is not like to laſt for many Years, and the Ceſſions made to the King of *Sardinia*. It is true that by this Treaty *Sileſia* is guaranty'd to the King of *Pruſſia*; but as it was not given him by this Treaty, it ought not to be looked upon as one of the Sacrifices made for obtaining the preſent Peace. We may therefore ſay, that,

that, excluſive of the temporary Settlement, and of the Ceſſions before mentioned, the Pragmatick Sanction is at length fixed upon a firmer Foundation than ever; and as the temporary Eſtabliſhment before mentioned is the ſingle Acquiſition the Houſe of *Bourbon* has made by ſo long, ſo expenſive, and ſo bloody a War, we cannot but be ſenſible that her Power is very little heightened thereby, whereas that of the Houſe of *Auſtria* was never ſo great, ſo conſpicuous, and ſo thoroughly ſettled as at preſent.

Another Object we had in view, was to recover out of the Hands of *France* the Conqueſts ſhe had made, and which it was impoſſible we could ſheath our Swords while ſhe retained. This has been likewiſe obtained in its utmoſt Latitude and Extent. The Empreſs Queen, the King of *Sardinia*, and the States General, are to have, without Reſtriction, all their Poſſeſſions reſtored, in conſideration of no other Equivalent than that temporary Settlement before mentioned. It is indeed very certain, that theſe Countries have been very much harraſſed, and ſome of the Fortreſſes in them much injured, if not demoliſhed; but however, if we conſider what a Length of Time, what an Effuſion of Blood, and what a Waſte of

Treaſure it would have coſt the Allies, and us in particular, before theſe Countries could have been recovered by Force of Arms, we muſt be very blind indeed, if we do not ſee that it is infinitely advantageous to have them reſtored, even in the Condition they are in, and their being retaken in the Progreſs of the War, would not have put them in a better, ſo that this is a Circumſtance of very great Importance, and with which we have all the Reaſon imaginable to be highly pleaſed and ſatisfied.

Another Object of the War was reſtoring the Balance of Power wherever it was loſt, and preſerving and ſupporting it where it ſtill ſubſiſted. Now this is very effectually anſwered by the Definitive Treaty, and by its immediate Conſequences, as will manifeſtly appear if we will but give ourſelves the Trouble to examine them. In *Italy* the Hands of the King of *Sardinia* are ſtrengthened; and as he guards the Entrance of this Country, and has defended it ſo ſucceſſfully during the Courſe of the preſent War, in which, as well as in the Concluſion of the Peace, he has received ſuch convincing Marks of the Fidelity of *Great Britain* to her Engagements, we cannot doubt his perſiſting in the like Conduct for the future; and

and then Experience has ſhewn us, that, in Conjunction with the Empreſs Queen, there wants not Force enough to preſerve the Balance in that Country. For ſuch is the Situation of Don *Philip*'s Settlement, that, in a Time of War, it could be only ſafe by a Neutrality; and if this ſhould be refuſed, there would be very little more Difficulty in reducing his Dutchies than were found in expelling the Duke of *Modena*. As to the Republick of *Genoa*, it is more than probable the Events of the War will teach her to ſet a higher Value upon a Neutrality than in Times paſt, and if ſhe ſhould not, the Danger would not be very great, ſince it is evident, that when in a more flouriſhing Condition than ſhe is like to be in haſte, ſhe has had much ado to preſerve her Capital. The Definitive Treaty, therefore, has done nothing towards injuring the Balance in this Part of *Europe*; and yet this is the only Part where, even with the Shadow of Argument, that might be pretended. This will appear ſtill plainer, if we reflect that the Paſſage through *Tyrol* is ſo much a readier, ſafer, and ſhorter Road into *Italy* than any other, that it is not eaſy to foreſee any Attempt upon this Country, unleſs the Arms of the Empreſs Queen were previouſly engaged in *Germany*, which, in all human Probability,

will not happen in our Times, or the King of *Sardinia* gained to the Houſe of *Bourbon*; which is as little probable, becauſe it muſt be attended with his falling immediately into a State of Dependance; which, in the Sentiments of wiſe Princes, differs very little from a State of Deſtruction.

In *Germany*, the Stipulations in the Definitive Treaty muſt be as effectual. His Imperial Majeſty's Title is clearly owned by the only Powers in *Europe* which heſitated in acknowledging him, and thereby not only the Pretences, but the Means of diſturbing the Peace of the *Germanick* Body, are abſolutely removed; ſince the proper Methods may be at any Time made uſe of, to correct whatever has the Appearance of Irreverence to the Auguſt Chief of the Empire: Neither will theſe be found mere Words of Courſe, but a plain and true State of Facts; for in Time of Peace, the Princes and States of *Germany* are led, from the Nature of their Conſtitution, to a frequent Recourſe to the Imperial Authority, which is thereby ſtrengthened and ſupported; ſo that in a very little Space it will be found, that notwithſtanding any Intrigues which may be ſet on Foot to prevent it, the Influence of his preſent Imperial Majeſty will

will extend as far as that of any of his Predeceſſors, and the Splendor of the Houſe of *Auſtria* be as illuſtrious and conſpicuous, and its Power to the full as great, as at any Time within our Memory; which is all that can be wiſhed for or deſired in reference to the Ballance in that Country, which has been always, and will ever remain, a Thing of the higheſt Importace to the general Tranquility of *Europe*, and to the Maintenance of that Independency, which is, truly and ſtrictly ſpeaking, that common Cauſe, a cloſe Adherence to which, muſt be the invariable Intereſt of the Maritime Powers.

Laſtly, As to our own Concerns, they have all the Care taken of them, and will receive all the Benefit from the Clauſes in the Definitive Treaty, relating to them, that could be reaſonably expected or deſired. For by this Treaty, the Guaranty of the Succeſſion of the Crown is confirmed in the cleareſt Terms, and extended to all the Powers that have any Intereſts in the Treaty. The Demolition of the Port of *Dunkirk* is ſettled upon the Foot of former Treaties, which is all that could be pretended to for our Security. Our Claims in reſpect to Commerce, are as well, and as far

far adjuſted with the Court of *Spain*, as it was proper or convenient they ſhould be by a general Peace; and all the Rights derived to us by former Treaties being confirmed, we have as good a Title as we poſſibly can have, to expect that they ſhall be made good to us by the Court of *Madrid:* And in what Manner theſe ſhall be regulated to our intire Satisfaction, is left to a ſubſequent Negotiation between the two Courts, which now, that all Cauſes of Diffidence and Jealouſy are removed, there is not the leaſt Colour to ſuſpect will not be ſpeedily and effectually adjuſted. Upon the whole therefore, if we conſider the Cauſes of the War, the Progreſs and Events of it, and the Circumſtances of Things at the Time when this Negotiation was ſet on foot, and compare theſe with the whole Tenor of the Treaty, or with any of the particular Articles which it contains, we ſhall find the ſtrongeſt Motives to remain perfectly pleaſed and ſatisfied with its Contents; ſince from thence it will be manifeſt, that all Rancour and Malice are extinguiſhed; not from the bare Words of the Treaty, (tho' theſe are as clear and expreſs as Words can be) but from the Effects of it, ſuch as the Confirmation and Guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, and of the Succeſſion of the Crown of *Great Britain* on one

one Side, together with the intire Reſtitution of all Conqueſts; and on the other Side, the granting an Eſtabliſhment to Don *Philip*, and making other Proviſions for removing all, even to the moſt trivial Grounds of Altercations and Diſputes. Theſe were Things needful and neceſſary, what we had Reaſon to expect ſhould be done, and what we ought therefore to rejoice to ſee done: And, had the Conferences been extended any farther, to the Cognizance of the Demands, and regulating the Pretenſions of other Princes and Powers, than thoſe which were immediately engaged in the War, it would not only have produced needleſs, and almoſt endleſs Deliberations, but muſt likewiſe have involved us in a Variety of new Guaranties; which, one may preſume, is what no true Lover of Peace, or of his Country, would have reliſhed. An entire Abolition of paſt Reſentments, and a good Foundation for future Quiet, ſeemed to be the eſſential Marks of a wiſe and well-made Peace; and it is from the Definitive Treaty's having theſe in a Degree equally conſpicuous and indiſputable, that one may venture to pronounce it ſuch, whatever thoſe who are reſolved never to be ſatisfied, may be either inclined, or find it neceſſary, to ſay againſt it.

This

This leads us to ſpeak of the moſt plauſible Objections, that have been made to this neceſſary and ſalutary Tranſaction. As indeed, what is there either ſo requiſite in itſelf, or ſo well and wiſely conducted in the bringing it to bear, which will not be expoſed to Objection, in a Country more eſpecially, where every Man takes the Liberty of forming and ſpeaking his Opinion, even as to Things that it is next to an Impoſſibility he ſhould comprehend, or conceive clearly; in a Country too, where, from a new and a very bad Habit, Numbers have fallen into a way of treating with Rudeneſs and Burleſque, even the moſt ſerious and ſolemn Subjects; as if there was nothing in Nature that deſerved to be looked upon in any better Light than a Jeſt; that the World was really, as well as metaphorically, a Theatre, upon the Stage of which, none but Farces were performed; and in a Country too, where of late, Malice or Spleen has diffuſed itſelf to an incredible Extent, and mixing with the Spirit of Ridicule before-mentioned, has brought Libel and Lampoon to be the only faſhionable kind of Writing, and every Man into Contempt who wiſhes well to his Country without being paid for it, or thinks favourably

ably of any Adminiſtration with which he has no immediate Connection, or to which he lies under no particular Obligation. It would be indeed a tedious, and at the ſame Time a very trifling Employment, for any one to undertake the Refutation of all the Objections, that ſuch kind of People may throw out; and this therefore will excuſe me from inſiſting upon any, except thoſe that wear the Appearance at leaſt of Reaſon and Argument, and this chiefly for their Sakes who may be impoſed upon by ſuch Appearances.

Amongſt theſe the firſt is, That no Part of theſe Negotiations have been communicated to Parliament, tho' they were begun, and even the Preliminaries were ſigned during the laſt Seſſions of Parliament. In Anſwer to this, I ſhall in the firſt place obſerve, That tho' this Point has been laid down with great Emphaſis, and very poſitively, yet at the Bottom it is not very well grounded; becauſe both before the Negotiation was entered into, and during its Continuance, the Senſe of Parliament might be very well known, and very ſafely collected by the Miniſters, from what paſſed in Parliament; and they might think it more for the Honour of the Nation, tho' not more for the Safety of themſelves, to act from thoſe Hints, than

to inſiſt upon direct Reſolutions, which might have been better Warrants, but would not perhaps have afforded clearer Inſtructions. In the next Place, ſuch a Proceeding would have been abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Nature and Manner of this Negotiation; as on the other hand it has been already proved, that however new and unprecedented this Method of Negotiation might be, it was from thence, and thence only, that its Succeſs was derived. To this I will venture to add, that the Direction ſo much and ſo loudly inſiſted upon, was unneceſſary, and would have been unparliamentary. Thoſe who have bad Deſigns, and aim at accompliſhing thoſe Deſigns without Hazard, may endeavour ſo to colour and diſguiſe them, as to obtain, and entrench themſelves behind the Sanction of Parliament; but this is not either neceſſary or fit to be done, by Perſons who mean fairly: And many true Patriots have often, upon Applications made for ſuch kind of Inſtructions, told the Miniſters with great Truth and Spirit, that the Prerogative of the Crown was in their Hands, that they ought to manage it for the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation, and they would then have no Reaſon to fear any Cenſure, but on the contrary, might juſtly expect the Thanks of its Repreſentatives.

Another

Another Point that has been very loudly recommended to publick Notice, is the Convention for ſending back the *Ruſſians*. It has been repreſented as a Thing abſolutely indefenſible to put the Nation to the Expence of that Body of Troops, and after putting it to that Expence, and making thoſe Troops undertake ſo long and difficult a March, to ſend them back again at that very Juncture, when by joining the Army of the Allies, they might have been rendered highly uſeful. Now, in anſwer to this, let it be conſidered, that the taking theſe Forces into the Pay of the Maritime Powers, and marching them into *Germany*, was a Thing equally neceſſary for carrying on the War, if that muſt have been carried on, and by affording a Poſſibility of doing this, to put us in the way of obtaining a ſafe and honourable Peace. This, therefore, very clearly juſtifies the firſt Meaſure, of taking them into our Service, and of marching them into *Germany*; nor will it take any thing from the Weight of my Argument, that this Step did not actually contribute to the Maintenance of an uncertain War, ſince it is known to all the World, that it had the other and better Effect, of contributing to the Re-eſtabliſhment of publick Tranquilli-

ty by a Peace. As to the Meaſure of marching them back again, the beſt Way of accounting for it, is to conſider what would have followed in caſe it had not been taken. In the firſt place, it could not but have given Umbrage to the *French* Court, which, conſidering they had ſuſpended the Progreſs of their Arms, when thoſe Troops were not immediately at hand to facilitate the Conferences at *Aix la Chapelle*, would not have been either decent or prudent. It muſt have occaſioned the aſſembling a *French* Army upon the *Moſelle*, and have given Weight to that Party in the Council of *Verſailles* that were inclined to traverſe all pacifick Meaſures. Laſtly, it is not at all impoſſible that it might have rendered other People intractable, and thereby increaſed the Number, or heightened the Nature of thoſe Difficulties by which our Negotiation was at that critical Conjuncture very much perplexed. But the Convention for ſending back theſe Troops not only removed all theſe Inconveniencies, but relieved the *Low Countries* from the Weight of an equal Number of *French* Forces, ſhewed a reciprocal Confidence in both Parties, and I will take upon me to ſay, went as far towards promoting the Concluſion of the Peace, as the March of thoſe Troops did to the ſigning the Preliminaries.

If

If therefore Peace be a good Thing, neither of theſe Steps ought to be complained of, or thoſe who adviſed or carried them into Execution cenſured.

The laſt Objection that I ſhall mention is with regard to Hoſtages, which has been very cavalierly treated by ſome Perſons, as if it was a Thing unuſual, unneceſſary, and even derogatory to the Honour of this Crown and Nation. Thoſe who ſtile it unuſual, cannot be well acquainted with the Law of Nations, in which the giving, accepting, and receiving Hoſtages, are Points largely treated and fully ſettled. Next, that it ſhould be a Thing unneceſſary cannot be eaſily conceived by any who have attentively read the Ninth Article, by which the ſending of Hoſtages is ſtipulated, ſince it plainly appears from thence, that the Ceſſions and Reſtitutions are to keep Pace with each other, and to be reciprocally given up, in ſuch a Manner as that each Party, at the ſame Time, may give and receive in a due Proportion; but with reſpect to the *Britiſh* Crown and Nation, the Circumſtances of our Conqueſts being ſuch, that there is an abſolute Incertainty as to the Time in which they can be reſtored, there was no other Method of ſettling this Point in a ſatisfactory Manner, and agree-

agreeable to the preciſe and punctual Method purſued with regard to other Powers, than this of giving Hoſtages for performing our Part of the Stipulations, that no unreaſonable Delay might be occaſioned by waiting till the ſpecific Reſtitutions were made: And hence it is as clear as any Thing can be, that we conſented to give Hoſtages, becauſe, from the Nature of Things, it was neceſſary. As to its being derogatory to the Honour of the Crown or Nation, it is a very ſtrange, as well as a very groundleſs Notion: For the plain Reaſon of our giving Hoſtages is, becauſe in one Part of the World we actually have made Conqueſts, and are ſuppoſed to have a ſuperior Force, capable of making Conqueſts in other Parts, whereas the *French* have nothing in their Hands of ours, and conſequently have no Equivalent to reſtore. If therefore we conſider it in this Light, which beyond Queſtion is the Light it ſhould be conſidered in, it is to the Honour of the Crown and Nation, and for the Glory of our Arms; and thoſe who ſee it in any other Light, muſt ſee through the falſe Medium of their own ill Humours, Prejudices and Prepoſſeſſions, againſt which it was impoſſible for our Plenipotentiaries, or for the wiſeſt and greateſt Politicians, to provide.

We

We are now come to the laſt Head of our Obſervations, which refers to the Conſequences of this Treaty, and the Effects that may be reaſonably ſuppoſed it may and will have upon the Affairs of *Europe*: And in treating this we ſhall be very careful of advancing any thing that is not perfectly clear in its Nature, and morally certain in reſpect to what is deduced from it; for there is nothing farther from the Deſign of this little Diſcourſe, than to amuſe Mankind with plauſible Pretences, fanciful Conjectures, and ſpecious Promiſes; what we aim at is directly the reverſe; for we would willingly cure the Publick of cauſeleſs Jealouſies, falſe Fears, and groundleſs Apprehenſions, by diſpelling the Miſts from before their Eyes, and ſhewing the fair and full Proſpect of Things as they lie in Nature; and we flatter ourſelves that this may be done ſo effectually, as to leave no candid or impartial Enquirer under any kind of Doubt, as to the Truth and Reality of what we ſhall advance upon ſo intereſting and ſo important an Occaſion.

In the firſt place then, it is clear, that tho' there is no Notice taken of the Affairs of the North in the Definitive Treaty, yet the Balance of Power, in that Part of *Europe*, muſt

muſt receive very high Advantages from its immediate Effects. Her Imperial Majeſty of *Ruſſia* will receive a very conſiderable Subſidy from the Maritime Powers, for a ſettled Space of Time at a very critical Conjuncture, and will, in the Beginning of the Spring, have thoſe Troops that were to have been employed in their Service in her own Dominions. This is an additional Proof of the Wiſdom and Propriety of that Meaſure which has been ſo much controverted, the taking thoſe Troops ſo late into our Pay, and the contracting for them beyond the Time that there was a Probability of employing them. One might expatiate largely upon this Subject, and find no great Difficulty in proving, if for certain Reaſons that were not at this Time inexpedient, that we could not have taken a better or more effectual Method than this, for anſwering Purpoſes it was of all others our Intereſt ſhould be thoroughly anſwered. By this ſeaſonable Supply to *Ruſſia*, and by diſengaging the Empreſs Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, the natural and powerful Ally of *Ruſſia*, from a burthenſome and dangerous War that fully employed all her Forces, we have done all that it was fit for us to do for the Maintenance of a Cauſe which, in ſeveral Reſpects, very nearly concerns us, and there is very great Probability

may

may tend to bring the Diſputes in the North to a Way of being compromiſed to the Satisfaction of all Parties, and to the general Benefit of *Chriſtendom*.

The Broils and Diſcords of *Germany* are in a fair Way of being thoroughly extinguiſhed, and their Imperial Majeſties ſeem to be ſo well diſpoſed to remove all thoſe Obſtacles which have hitherto hindered the Heads of the Empire and the Sovereigns of the Houſe of *Auſtria* from being able to ſupport their juſt Authority, that we may very ſoon expect to ſee every Part of their Dominions in a flouriſhing and ſecure Condition, and at the ſame time, their Power become ſo formidable as, with the Conjunction of their natural Allies, to be in a Condition fully able to ſuſtain the Liberties of *Europe*, and put the common Cauſe out of all Danger of being injured, either by open Force or ſecret Fraud, if, in our Times, this ſhould be attempted. Whoever conſiders the Certainty of this, and compares it with the Situation of Things but a few Years paſt, will ſee that we have great Cauſe to be thankful to Providence for the Change, and to be very confident that we ſhall not be liable, within a moderate Compaſs of Years, to thoſe dreadful Alarms that ſo juſtly excited our Appre-

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henſions when the Flame of the War now extinguiſhed firſt broke out.

We have ſuch a Knowledge of the Principles and Politicks of the *Italian* Courts, that without Fear of the Imputation of being over ſecure, we may look upon the Tranquillity of that Country as a Thing that will be quickly ſettled in ſuch a Manner as to prevent its being ſuddenly ſhaken. Some Powers there, have received ſuch Teſtimonies of our Friendſhip, ſome have ſo ſeverely felt our Reſentment, and the reſt are ſo thoroughly convinced of our Power, that we may rationally rely upon having all the Reſpect paid us by them that we can wiſh. At the ſame time we know, that if they are ſteady to their own Intereſts, and purſue that Plan which their own Prudence muſt dictate, they cannot take other Steps than we could deſire; ſo that it may be ſafely averred, that, ſcarcely within our Memory, the Affairs of that Country were ever in a better State than they now are, or quickly will be, that is to ſay, when the Conferences at *Nice*, and perhaps ſome other amicable Negotiations, ſhall have ſettled the Dominions of the Princes and States there in that Order which will ſuit beſt with their reſpective Conveniencies.

By

By the Concluſion of the Definitive Treaty, our near Neighbours and natural Allies the *Dutch* will have that Leiſure given them which they ſo much wanted, for reſtoring the Force, and reviving the Credit of their Government, by recurring to its firſt Principles; which we have Cauſe not only to hope, but to expect will very ſpeedily raiſe them into another Point of Light, than that in which they ſtood at the Time of the breaking out, and during the whole Continuance of the War. The raiſing the Prince of *Orange* to the high Dignity of Hereditary Stadtholder of the Union, the free Gift, and many other Circumſtances that we need not enumerate, very plainly prove, that they are ſound at Heart, and have a great interior Strength, which they will now have an Opportunity to exert, in giving its due Form and Place to whatever may ſerve for the ſalutary Purpoſes of reſtoring Health and Vigour to their Conſtitution; and in Conſequence of that, Authority to their Government, and Activity in its Adminiſtration. They have had ſufficient Experience of the Danger of truſting to temporary Neutralities and ſpecious Promiſes; they have received new Lights as to the Importance of that Barrier which they ſo ſtrangely loſt, and have now ſo happily recovered; they

have ſeverely felt the Miſchiefs that neceſſarily aroſe from ſuffering Military Diſcipline to decline, and their Naval Force to decay. We may therefore promiſe ourſelves, from the Wiſdom and Magnanimity of that great Prince now at the Head of their Councils and their Adminiſtration, from the Capacity of the Miniſters now entruſted with their Affairs, and from the general Turn and Diſpoſition of the People, that Things will ſoon wear a new Face; and that the Maritime Powers, acting in Conjunction, be as able as they ever were, to hold the Balance of Power, and to prevent Laws from being preſcribed by any Potentate in *Europe*.

It is true we have hitherto conſidered only one Side of the Picture, but we may likewiſe look upon the other without either Tremor or Apprehenſion. The War has greatly weakned and exhauſted the Forces of the Houſe of *Bourbon*; the Peace itſelf ſpeaks this in Terms very clear and expreſſive, the great Reforms, new Schemes of Oeconomy, and other Projects that are ſo much talked of, are farther Proofs of the ſame thing; and if this was a proper Place or Time, we might add many more convincing Circumſtances: But as there is no need of it, ſo we have no Inclination to run into Diſquiſitions

quiſitions that might be inconvenient, at the ſame Time that they are unneceſſary. The Allies of that Houſe have not been Gainers by the War in any Shape; on the contrary, ſome have been ſo great Loſers, that were it poſſible for them to forget their Sufferings, they are not like, at leaſt in our Times, to be in any Condition of running into the like Exceſſes. We may add to this, that as all Events are in the Womb of Time, ſo it is very poſſible that ſhe may bring forth ſome which may leſſen the Danger of their Neighbours, by finding Buſineſs enough at home, even for their moſt refined and able Stateſmen. However that Matter may be, he might perhaps be no falſe Prophet who ſhould venture to foretell, that the next War in *Europe* will not riſe like the two laſt, from Diſputes about the *Auſtrian* Succeſſion.

There are many People, who from a ſplenetick Diſpoſition, incline to affright themſelves and their Neighbours, by drawing dark Deſcriptions of the preſent State of Things, and of approaching Dangers: There are others, who tho' they have no real Fears themſelves, have a Pleaſure in alarming the reſt of Mankind, by diſplaying their Sagacity in giving Things ſuch Colours, as may

may deceive Men of meaner Underſtandings: And there are again a third Sort, who have an Intereſt in doing this, becauſe it gives them an Aſcendency over ſuch as they can terrify with theſe Phantoms. There are alſo ſanguine People who can fill the Heads of thoſe inclined to liſten to them, with viſionary Expectations of Advantages that are not in Nature; but it is hoped, that nothing of either Temper will be diſcovered in this ſhort Diſcourſe, which as it claims no Merit from its Compoſition, ſo it is written without the leaſt View either to flatter or to offend any Party. If we have ever departed from Truth, or from Probability, it has been accidentally and by Miſtake, not from any private View or with any concealed Deſign. The Subject that is here diſcuſſed, will doubtleſs employ many other Pens, and may be poſſibly conſidered in very different Lights, but will never be handled with leſs of Prejudice or Prepoſſeſſion.

The ſingle Principle, that from this Deduction of Things we would inculcate, is this, That we have at length obtained what every honeſt, well-meaning, and ſenſible *Briton* wiſhed, a ſpeedy and ſafe Extrication from a burthenſome and bloody War, by

by a Peace that has put both our ſelves and our Allies into a Condition, which it is our Buſineſs to improve, and to this we ought to bend our whole Attention. To wrangle about paſt Miſtakes will be to very little Purpoſe; all the Parties in theſe Kingdoms have made enough, to wiſh for a general Oblivion; and it is certainly our Happineſs at preſent, that taking Things as they ſtand, we have no Reaſon to queſtion that all may be ſet right, and that Frugality, Induſtry, Patience, Publick Spirit and Unanimity, may enable us to purſue ſuch Steps as may repair all paſt Errors, give the neceſſary Eaſe and Relief to the People, which the Taxes they have ſo long endured requires; and thereby put it in their Power to ſtrengthen the Hands of the Government, which from late, as well as long paſt Experience, we know they will be always ready to do, when any real Emergency requires it. Upon the embracing with Sincerity this Principle, and adhering to it inflexibly, our future Proſperity muſt depend; and it imports us very much to remember, that how well ſoever our Miniſters may have diſcharged their Truſt in negotiating for us a ſafe and honourable Peace abroad, our Security, Peace and Welfare at home, depends entirely upon ourſelves.

If

If we look on other States and take a View of the Condition and Conduct of all the Nations that have ſuffered from this Calamity, I mean from the Calamity of War; for a general Calamity it was, and the Inhabitants of every Country engaged in it, felt it more or leſs, tho' none ſo lightly as ourſelves: If, I ſay, we conſider their Behaviour upon this Occaſion, we ſhall find that they are intent upon nothing elſe than what is recommended above. In *France* they are proceeding to vaſt Reductions in every Part of their Expences, they are deſirous of finding out new Methods for encouraging and the reviving of their Manufactures; for ſupplying that vaſt Loſs they have ſuſtained in their Shipping; for reſtoring their ſinking Commerce; and in fine, whatever elſe may contribute to diffuſe the Balm of Peace, in ſuch a Manner, as that in Time, it may at leaſt heal the Wounds, if not efface the Marks of the War. In *Spain* the ſame Notions prevail, and are purſued as faſt and as far as the Genius of that Government will permit. In *Genoa* their Councils are entirely turned to this Point, and the great Diſputes among them ariſe from the Warmth of thoſe who eſpouſe different Schemes for re-eſtabliſhing and improving that Commerce upon which the

the Welfare of their State depends. Now it is an old and a very good Maxim, that we ought to learn even from our Enemies. In this Caſe, without doubt, the Leſſon they give us is a very good one, and we ought to be as forward as they in adjuſting every Thing in ſuch a Manner as that the People may be relieved, and the Crown of *Great-Britain* maintained in that high Rank, which, as a Maritime State eſpecially, ſhe is and ever will be entitled to hold (unleſs our Factions prevent it) among the Powers of *Europe*. This remains equally our Duty, whether the Crowns with whom we have made Peace, be ſincere in their Intentions or not; if the former be the Baſis of their Plan, we ought to avoid giving them any Temptation to alter it, by relapſing into thoſe dangerous Feuds and Jealouſies, which by ſhewing us to be a divided People, may encourage them to become our Enemies again; if the latter, it is ſtill the more our Duty, becauſe nothing but a ſteady Purſuit of theſe ſalutary Maxims can remove the Danger, by convincing them that the Hazard in ſuch a Caſe will be much greater on their Side, than it can be on ours.

On the other hand, if we turn our Eyes towards the Conduct of our Confederates,

we ſhall ſee as ſtrong Reaſons ariſe from thence. The Court of *Vienna* has already made ſuch great and happy Alterations in the Management of her Affairs, as will enable the Houſe of *Auſtria* to appear with that Luſtre and Dignity, in which it is the Intereſt, as well as the Wiſh of her Allies, that ſhe ſhould ever continue. A ſtrict Oeconomy in her Finances, a ſettled and well regulated Force in every Part of her Dominions, and a Diſpoſition to ſhare equally, amongſt all her Subjects, the Bleſſings of a wiſe and mild Government in time of Peace, and to cultivate a ſincere Friendſhip with their ancient and invariable Friends, appear to be the Maxims of that Cabinet. His *Sardinian* Majeſty is no leſs intent upon the providing for the Security of his Dominions, the Welfare of his Subjects, and the maintaining the Peace and Independency of *Italy*. A fairer Proſpect we never had of ſeeing the Republick of the United Provinces in a Condition to maintain their Freedom, and to act upon Principles ſuitable thereto, under the Auſpice of that wiſe and excellent Prince, whom the Voice of the People, obeying the Dictates of Divine Providence, hath ſet at the Head of their Government, and thereby reſtored as well the Strength as the Form of their ancient Conſtitution,

ſtitution, by which they firſt acquired, and by which alone they can maintain their Liberty. We may from hence conclude, that the general Appearance of Things in favour of the Common Cauſe, will daily improve, and that as the Wealth, the Force, and the Independency of our old and natural Allies increaſe, they will draw to them not the Reſpect only, but the Confidence of their Neighbours, whoſe Intereſt it ſo viſibly is, to depend rather on their Friendſhip and Protection from whom they have nothing to fear, than on the fair and flattering Promiſes of Courts, from whom they have very little to hope; that we cannot entertain any reaſonable Doubt of ſeeing their Credit and Influence extend as far in the Middle, as it viſibly did in the Beginning of the preſent Century. Such a Proſpect therefore ought to excite in us the moſt vigorous and hearty Emulation, that encouraged by mutual Examples, as well as conducted by the ſame honeſt and generous Principles, we may put an End to the Fears of *Europe*, by eſtabliſhing ſuch a Barrier as may diſpirit the moſt ambitious Powers, and teach them to renounce thoſe Projects that muſt tend to exhauſt their Strength, and leave them, ſooner or later, at the Mercy of their injured Neighbours.

In theſe Repreſentations, what has been ſaid proceeds upon plain and ſelf-evident Grounds, not from any Pretences to private Lights or ſecret Intelligences. All the Facts that we have mentioned are not only true, but notoriouſly ſo, and ſuch as inſinuate the contrary, if any ſuch there be, cannot expect that we ſhould prefer their Suſpicions and Surmiſes to that daily Evidence we have from Events of a contrary State of Things. Beſides, granting even their Surmiſes and Suſpicions to be true, the Inferences drawn from them muſt become freſh Motives to determine us in a firm and conſtant Adherence to the Principles ſo often ſuggeſted and repeated. For what is there that can promote our Hopes, if well grounded, or ſecure us againſt our Apprehenſions, if they are not without Grounds, than Unanimity and publick Spirit? Shall we preſerve our Friends, ſhall we affright our Enemies, by falling out and renewing our Diviſions amongſt ourſelves? Or after having experienced, in the Courſe of the War, ſo many and ſo great Miſchiefs from this Cauſe, ſhall we ſtill tempt Providence ſo far as to perſiſt in trying what Inconveniencies may follow it in a Time of Peace? No certainly, there is in this ſomething ſo mean and ſo ridiculous,

lous, as well as ſo prepoſterouſly wild and wicked, that it cannot enter into the Conceptions of Men, upon whom God has beſtowed the Bleſſing of common Senſe.

While we were involved in the War, the Supplies it required demanded all our Care, and the great Events thereof, with their Conſequences, took up all our Attention. In ſuch a Situation, Oeconomy and Frugality, tho' never more neceſſary, yet were with Difficulty to be practiſed; whatever good Wiſhes Men might have for the Service of their Country, it was impoſſible they ſhould employ their Endeavours with much Effect, except in facilitating the raiſing of Money, or the promoting military or naval Operations. But now that is at an End, and we are reſtored to the Enjoyment of Calmneſs and Quiet, we have Leiſure and Opportunity to conſider of the moſt effectual Meaſures for reducing all Expences of Government within the narroweſt Bounds poſſible, raiſing Money upon the Subject in the eaſieſt, ſpeedieſt, and cheapeſt way that can be, applying it ſo as that it may tend moſt to the common Advantage, and thereby not only prevent our adding in the leaſt to the heavy Burthen of Debt already incurred, but providing for the gradual Diſcharge of it,

it, which at the ſame time that it would relieve and rejoice, would redound likewiſe to the Honour and Credit of the Nation. We may find the proper Means to employ that noble Reſolution, that indefatigable Patience, that vigorous and active Spirit, which our Soldiers and Sailors have diſcovered in Time of War for their own and for their Countrymen's Benefit in Time of Peace, by putting them in a Way of ſo employing their Induſtry, as that it may afford them a comfortable Subſiſtance. We may revive the old, and we may diſcover new Schemes of preſerving, protecting, and promoting Navigation, by encouraging Trade, improving Manufactures, and having a conſtant Eye to our naval Force, which is at once the Grace and Glory of *Great Britain*.

All theſe Things demand indeed much Induſtry and Diligence, and cannot otherwiſe be accompliſhed than by forming wiſe Plans, and ſticking to them cloſely when formed. But this may be very well done, if thoſe entruſted with the Management of Affairs, and thoſe for whom they manage, have but a good Underſtanding; if Stateſmen will place their Ambition where it ought to be placed, in the Welfare of the State they direct, and if the People will be

but

but content to encourage Men to mean well, by putting a right Conſtruction upon their Meaning, all that we wiſh, and all that we want, may be certainly attained; and what this is may be thus explained, that the Excellence of our Conſtitution may ſhew itſelf as fully in the executive Part of our Government, as in its Structure, and that the Happineſs of our political Syſtem may not appear only in Books, but be viſible to the whole World, in the general Felicity of all who live under it.

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